M. A. SUSLOV

SPEECH AT THE 20th CONGRESS OF THE C.P.S.U.

★

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Comrades, in his report, Comrade Khrushchov gave a clear, profound and comprehensive analysis of our Party's activities in the period under review. He surveyed its signal successes, achieved under the leadership of the Central Committee, and formulated its tasks in the effort for the continued advance of communism.

The results of the Central Committee's activities are there for all to see. And in assessing these results, our Congress, the whole of our Party, and all the men and women of the Soviet Union, have every reason to approve of them with a feeling of the deepest pride and satisfaction. (*Applause.*)

The Central Committee has proved equal to the gigantic tasks with which it had to contend in the period between the Nineteenth and Twentieth Congresses. Its general line, both in home and foreign affairs, has been correct and genuinely Leninist. (*Applause.*)

For Lenin taught us that the Party's policy can be successful only if it takes into account the requirements of the situation, only if the Party is always mindful of the realities of life. And if we examine the period under review in this light, we can safely say that throughout these years the Party, headed by its Central Committee, has kept particularly close to realities, to the people, has been especially farsighted in judging the situation at home and abroad, and has correctly sized up the requirements of the day, tackling the solution of both economic and political problems in a creative spirit.

The Central Committee report fully reflects the creative, militant spirit which distinguished the work of our

Party after the Nineteenth Congress, and the supreme degree of initiative and activity which our Central Committee displayed as it mobilized the Party and the people for putting the Party's political line into practice. (*Applause.*)

The report sums up the impressive results of socialist construction both in our country and in the People's Democracies, the results of the struggle waged by the progressive forces of the world for easing international tension, for national independence and the democratic rights of the peoples, for lasting peace and universal security. Our people, and progressives the world over, will derive from facts and figures cited in the report, from the theoretical propositions it advances and the political conclusions it draws, fresh faith in the ultimate triumph of peace, democracy and socialism.

On the other hand, the C.C. report, in full conformity with the Leninist tradition, does not seek to conceal from the Party and the people the shortcomings and drawbacks in our work and the problems that still await solution. This indicates that our Party will not rest content with its achievements to date, and sets new big tasks. Critical appraisal of the work done is an indispensable condition for Bolshevik leadership. For only in this way can we avoid stagnation and stimulate constant advance to what is new and better and more progressive. That we were taught by the great Lenin:

"The important thing," he said, "is not to rest content with the ability acquired from past experience, but to move *by all means further ahead*, to achieve *by all means more*, to go by all means from easier tasks to more difficult ones. Without this, there can be no progress at all, and no progress in socialist construction." (*Works*, Vol. 28, p. 172.)

THE STRUGGLE FOR LASTING PEACE, FOR SOCIALISM

Comrades, the Party's intense activity in the foreign policy sphere during the period under review has been based on a profound understanding of the distinctive fea-

tures of the present international situation and of the tasks that confront the progressive forces of mankind. On every single international problem that has agitated the minds of the peoples, the Soviet Union has stated its position and has contributed in very large measure towards a solution.

In this sphere our Party has been an active, leading force, constantly endeavouring to find practical and concrete solutions for all the problems upon which the destinies of peace depend. And as a result of the active peace policy of the Soviet Union, and of the joint actions of all the peace-loving nations, considerable progress has been made in the settlement of many issues. On other issues, the Soviet proposals are definitely the most realistic and constructive, and if so far these issues have not been settled, that is not our fault.

The implementation of Soviet foreign policy, formulated by our Party, has always been strictly in keeping with principles; but at the same time it has been highly flexible. While resolutely repelling every attempt at dictation by certain powers, the Soviet Union has always indicated its readiness to reach agreement based on mutual respect for interests.

The active efforts of the Soviet Union and other peace-loving nations have culminated in two important results. First, a certain relaxation has been brought about in international tension for the first time in many years. The very fact that today no war is being waged anywhere in the world shows how greatly the international situation has changed for the better. Second, the forces of peace, democracy and socialism have considerably strengthened their positions. The international prestige and influence of the Soviet Union and of the entire socialist camp have increased substantially. On the other hand, the positions of the imperialist camp have been considerably weakened. That is admitted, albeit reluctantly, even by such men as Mr. Acheson, a former U.S. Secretary of State. The *Washington Post and Times-Herald* recently quoted him as saying that "if we look around us, we will be hard put to find any area in which events of the past few years have not moved to our disadvantage."

The cause of peace has gained added strength in the last period by the extension of amicable contacts and co-operation between the Soviet Union and the peace-loving nations of Asia. The peace forces have grown in strength and scope in the capitalist countries too. One evidence of that is the recent French elections, in which the Left parties considerably extended and consolidated their positions, both among the population generally and in parliament.

But, of course, it would be wrong to rest content with these results. Much more remains to be done to convert the present measure of relaxation of international tension into lasting peace. The popular struggle for peace can and should be raised to a higher plane, particularly in connection with the attempts now being made by certain elements in the West to revive the "cold war."

As for the Soviet Union, it will continue to be guided by Lenin's thesis that the socialist and capitalist systems can co-exist in peace. And it will continue its indefatigable efforts to further lessen international tension and to consolidate peace, for this fully accords with the interests of our peoples and with the interests of socialism.

The discussion at this Congress of the basic questions of internal and international development brings out even more clearly the historic meaning of our present-day struggle. The Congress enables us to gain a deeper understanding of the trend of development in this age of momentous changes in the life of all nations, an age in which the imperialist system is collapsing and the world system of socialism is in the making.

Such fundamental questions of contemporary international development as peaceful co-existence of the two systems, the possibility of preventing war in our age, the different forms which transition to socialism will take in various countries, and our attitude to Social Democratic parties—questions posed in Comrade Khrushchov's report—are of immense importance.

Their treatment in Comrade Khrushchov's report furnishes a concrete example of creative application and development of the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrade Khrushchov has given convincing answers to questions uppermost in the minds of people everywhere —answers based on a Marxist appraisal of the present international situation, of the epochal changes that have taken place since the war, and on a generalization of the new experience accumulated by our and fraternal Communist Parties and the international working-class movement. (*Applause.*)

Comrade Khrushchov has demonstrated that, at the present stage of history, the question of whether war is inevitable must be treated differently than it was treated before the first and second world wars. For today the correlation of forces on the world scene has changed radically in favour of the forces of peace, and against the forces of war. Certainly, since imperialism still exists, there also exists the economic basis that breeds wars, and so the danger of the most reactionary monopoly interests engaging in fresh war gambles, particularly against socialist countries, is by no means eliminated. Consequently, there must be no complacency on this score, no letup of attention where the further strengthening of our country's defence might is concerned. But there is now no fatal inevitability of war. For today, in the new conditions of history, there are powerful forces disposing of effective means of preventing the imperialists from unleashing war and—should they try to unleash it—of crushing the aggressors, ending the war, and with it the system of capitalism, a system which not only dooms the vast majority of the population, the workers, to cruel exploitation, virtual disfranchisement, malnutrition and poverty, but also to periodical bloodbaths. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The imperialist rulers cannot but reckon with these new conditions of history. Yet it is self-evident that prevention of aggression is not an automatic process. War can be prevented only through a resolute struggle for peace, in which all the peace forces act jointly and vigorously to ward off the menace of war and aggression, and display vigilance with regard to the fomenters of war, expose their intrigues in good time and keep the peoples on the alert and ready for action.

The knowledge that in this age war is no longer a fatal inevitability, is no longer unavoidable, will doubtless stimulate further expansion of the peace movement and will be a source of inspiration to every peace lover.

Of no lesser significance is the thesis expounded in Comrade Khrushchov's report on the variety of forms which the transition to socialism will assume in different countries.

The history-making changes in the international situation have produced more favourable conditions not only for the peace effort, but for the struggle for socialism, for the transition of non-socialist countries to socialism, facilitating a greater variety of forms of transition in different countries.

The emergence and development of the socialist system in a whole number of countries has fully confirmed the brilliant prognostication made by Lenin that, though the principal and basic features of the advance to socialism will be common and identical, the actual transition to socialism will not be entirely the same in all countries, and each nation will make its own distinctive contribution in one or another form of democracy, one or another variety of proletarian dictatorship, one or another rate at which socialist transformation will be effected in the various aspects of social life.

The experience of countries where the socialist system has already been established has confirmed that the transition to socialism requires that political leadership of the state be in the hands of the working class, headed by its vanguard. And it is recognition of this basic and decisive condition for the transition to socialism that constitutes the principal difference between revolutionary Marxists and reformists. Working-class political leadership of the state is essential in order—within a shorter or longer period, depending on concrete conditions—to deprive the capitalist class of ownership of the means of production and convert them to public property, to organize successful resistance to possible attempts by the overthrown exploiting classes at restoring their rule, and to organize socialist construction.

The march of events has likewise confirmed that in

each of the socialist countries, while the basic features of their development were the same, and while there is fraternal mutual assistance and utilization of experience, notably assistance from and the experience of the Soviet Union, there was also much that was constructively new and unique in the way the working class won a decisive part in the administration of the state, and in the subsequent organization of socialist construction.

The question naturally arises: what about the future? Will there be new forms of transition to socialism? This question is of cardinal importance. For the urge of the peoples to socialism is irresistible, the attractive power of the socialist ideas increases from day to day, and the process will be accelerated by the continued achievements of socialism in our country, China and all the People's Democracies. Progressive minds in many countries cannot, in this situation, but give thought to what paths their own peoples will follow in the change-over to socialism.

Comrade Khrushchov has given an absolutely correct, Marxist reply to this all-important question. It is quite probable that the transition to socialism in the capitalist countries will produce a great multiplicity of forms. That will be an expression both of the more favourable general situation and of the specific features of each country.

It would be wrong, however, to believe that under all circumstances the transition to socialism will inevitably be attended by civil war. In this respect very much depends on the correlation of forces within the country in question and on the international scene, on the degree of organization and political consciousness of the revolutionary classes, and on the power of the resistance offered by the reactionary classes. When the proletariat of Russia directed the revolution in this country, it faced a united front of the imperialist powers. Today the progressive forces in other lands have a much more favourable prospect before them, for new conditions have taken shape in the capitalist world. The political struggle there centres around such issues as defence of peace, democratic freedoms and national independence. That

being so, the working class and its political parties have every opportunity of uniting, on the basis of a common democratic platform, the overwhelming majority of the nation—the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals, and even the patriotic-minded sections of the bourgeoisie. This will obviously make the victory of the working class easier.

But even in these conditions, in a number of capitalist countries, in those where the reactionary forces and the militarist and police machines are especially powerful, the transition to socialism will be attended by fierce resistance from the exploiting classes, and consequently by sharp revolutionary struggle on the part of the working class. On the other hand, in those capitalist countries where the reactionary forces and the militarist and police machine are less powerful, a peaceful course of the revolution and resultant transition to socialism is not impossible. In particular, it is not impossible that the working class may peacefully ascend to power by winning a parliamentary majority and converting parliament into a genuine people's assembly. Such a parliament, relying on a mass revolutionary movement of the proletariat, labouring peasantry, and all progressive sections of the population, would be able to break the resistance of the reactionary forces and effect the socialist transformation of society.

The enemies of communism depict Communists as advocates of armed insurrection, violence and civil war under all circumstances. That is calumnious nonsense, an attempt to smear the Communists and the working class which they represent. It stands to reason that the Communists and the working class prefer the least painful forms of transition from one social system to another. But the forms of this transition, as Comrade Khrushchov has demonstrated here, depend upon concrete historical conditions. Moreover, the application of more peaceful or more violent methods depends not so much on the working class as on the degree and form of resistance put up by the exploiting classes, which do not want voluntarily to relinquish their wealth, political power and other privileges.

The C.C. report sets forth the principles governing our Party's attitude to Social-Democratic parties in the present stage.

No one will deny that the split in the international labour movement, at a time when the energies of the peoples should be united to combat the war danger, is doubly intolerable. The movement is faced with problems of overshadowing importance, and on these we can find common ground with the Social-Democrats. It should be possible, therefore, to establish working contact, closer relations and co-operation on these problems. Such a possibility stems, above all, from the fact that, in the present situation, the paramount issues confronting the labour movement are defence of peace, national freedom and democracy. A leftward swing of the masses is to be observed in many capitalist countries. The peace sentiment is strong among the vast majority of the rank and file of the socialist parties, Christian trade unions and other organizations.

It is to be hoped that the idea of unity will gain increasing support among various sections of the working class and will result in practical action. But this will not happen of itself, spontaneously. It will depend largely on us Communists, on our efforts to attain this goal.

It would be hard to overestimate the importance of the theoretical propositions on pressing international problems, set forth in the C.C. report. They will go a very long way to consolidating the forces of progress; they will help all progressives who are working to promote peace and replace the obsolete capitalist system by a new, advanced social system which will bring the peoples deliverance from exploitation and war, from social and national oppression in whatever form or shape. (*Stormy applause.*)

PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL WORK MUST BE BROUGHT INTO LINE WITH THE NEW TASKS

Comrades, the Party dealt with questions relating to the country's internal development with no less vigour and initiative in the period under review. This activity

was based on a clear understanding of the pressing requirements of the further development of the country.

The Party boldly laid bare shortcomings in the various fields of economic, governmental and Party work. At a number of plenary meetings of the Central Committee it worked out a comprehensive programme for the rapid advancement of agriculture and better operation of industry. It urged the working people to new efforts to reorganize the work of the collective farms, MTSs, state farms and industrial enterprises, and carried out a tremendous amount of organizational work. It is safe to say that the great economic undertakings now being carried out in our country are the biggest the Party has embarked on since the period of industrialization and collectivization. The fact that in two years we were able to increase the crop area in our country by more than 30 million hectares—the equivalent of the crop area of several European countries taken together—shows that our Party is today equal to tasks of the greatest magnitude.

The tremendous work done by the Party is producing fruits. In agriculture the first stride has been taken towards increasing the production of grain and industrial crops and developing livestock farming, and the conditions have been created for sharply increasing within the next few years the output of agricultural produce on a scale commensurate with the country's growing requirements. The fulfilment of the Fifth Five-Year Plan in four years and four months in industry shows what enormous potentialities are being revealed in this branch of our national economy as well.

Basing ourselves on our accomplishments, we can now advance new gigantic tasks. We can now develop at a rapid pace not only heavy industry as the foundation of the entire national economy, but also the production of consumer goods, considerably increase public wealth and on this foundation substantially improve the well-being of the people. These are the tasks set forth in the Draft Directives of the Congress for the Sixth Five-Year Plan. The realization of this plan will signify new major successes in socialist economy, a new big step forward in pro-

viding an abundance of consumer goods, in the building of communism.

Comrades, the Soviet people will greet with great enthusiasm and redoubled effort in production the measures outlined by the Central Committee of the Party for a further improvement, under the Sixth Five-Year Plan, of working and living conditions, measures of which Comrade Khrushchov spoke here: introduction over the sixth five-year period of a 7-hour day for all workers and other employees, and a 6-hour day for the workers of the basic underground trades in the coal and ore-mining industries, as well as for adolescents, without reduction of wages; the reduction of the working day on Saturdays and on the eve of holidays by two hours in the near future; wage increases for low-paid categories of workers and other employees; readjustment of pensions; substantial expansion of housing construction (to double the Fifth Five-Year Plan volume), and improvement of dining-halls and other public-service establishments. All these measures will raise the living standards of the Soviet people. The Party has thought of everybody: working people, the youth—our hope and our future—veteran workers, women, children, each individual, and this is as it should be in socialist society.

The projected measures are evoking wide comment abroad. All the right-minded people are as pleased about them as we are. But there are also those who do not like them. The publication of the new Soviet five-year plan went against the grain of certain elements. These elements no longer doubt that this Soviet five-year plan, too, will be carried out. Everybody now admits that. They are afraid of something else. This was frankly put recently by United States Supreme Court Justice W. Douglas. "If Russia," he wrote, "can get peace even for a decade, it can produce a great increase in its standard of living. By that very act, it can create tremendous pressure on Asia and on Europe too. . . . A smiling, peaceful, prosperous Russia presents the most difficult international problem. . . ."

Mr. Douglas is obviously worried by peaceful economic competition between the two social systems, and

we have no intention to reassure him. We must say, however, that a peaceful, prosperous Russia by no means presents "the most difficult international problem" to ordinary working folk throughout the world, who rightly regard the successes of the working people of the Soviet Union as victories of the great cause of peace, democracy and socialism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Sixth Five-Year Plan marks an important stage in the peaceful economic competition of the two systems. A specific feature of this stage is the fact that the Soviet Union now has all the prerequisites for solving, within a historically brief space of time, the basic economic task of the U.S.S.R.—to catch up with and surpass the most advanced capitalist countries in per capita production.

To fulfil this task we must see to it that the entire national economy is elevated to a new and higher technical level, and substantially raise the productivity of labour. This is now the main condition for ensuring socialism first place in the competition with capitalism. Hence the economic aspects of production assume greater importance than ever.

Economic management, the work of the ministries and heads of enterprises, collective farms, MTSs and state farms must be raised to a higher level.

In these conditions specific demands are presented also to the Party organizations.

Our Party has come to its Twentieth Congress united and monolithic as never before. The correct political line of the Party and the inexhaustible energy it invests in its work for the good of the working people have rallied the entire Soviet people around it as never before, strengthened still further the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and the great, indestructible friendship of the peoples of our country.

Ideological and organizational unity of the Party is the basic guarantee of its might and strength and the source of all its successes. Only due to the unity of its ranks has the Communist Party been able successfully to deal with the problems of both foreign and home policy, to direct economic and cultural development.

The restoration of the standards of Party life and principles of Party leadership worked out by Lenin, which were often violated before the Nineteenth Party Congress, has done much to strengthen the unity of the Party and heighten its activity, initiative and militancy.

The theory and practice of the cult of the individual, which, though alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, found currency before the Nineteenth Congress, caused considerable harm in both organizational and ideological Party work. They tended to minimize the role of the masses and the Party, to belittle collective leadership, to undermine inner-Party democracy, to suppress the activity of Party members, their initiative and independent activity, to lead to lack of control, irresponsibility and even arbitrariness in the work of individuals, to prevent the development of criticism and self-criticism and to give rise to one-sided and sometimes even erroneous solutions of problems.

Re-establishment of the Leninist principle of collective leadership implies re-establishment of the very foundations on which the Party edifice rests. Our Party is a living and self-acting organization. Collective leadership, the principle that all Party bodies are elected and accountable, criticism and self-criticism—these are all key conditions for stimulating initiative, disclosing mistakes and shortcomings and devising ways and means of eliminating them.

That the principle of collective leadership at all levels, from the Central Committee to primary Party units, is now being effectively re-established, is attested by the increasing scope of criticism and self-criticism, by really collective discussion and decision of all major problems in Party bodies. It can be said without the slightest doubt that the principle of collective leadership has been fully re-established in the Central Committee. All major questions are decided by the C.C. Plenum, which meets regularly and which represents a broad, collectively functioning Party centre that maintains the closest contact with the vital sectors of communist construction. The collective experience of the Central Committee, based as it is on Marxism-Leninism, guarantees correct leadership

of the Party and the country and the unshakeable unity of the Party ranks. (*Applause.*)

The cult of the individual, harmful both in theory and practice, must be completely overcome, and Party bodies must in all their work be unswervingly guided by the principle of collective leadership. Its significance must be fully understood and appreciated by every Party functionary, for it is a most important condition for Party unity, for working out correct policies and their successful implementation. It is also a condition for the proper training of cadres and for the improvement of every aspect of Party activity.

The unity, solidity and effectiveness of the Party depend largely on the composition of its membership.

The Party does not accept everyone who wishes to join its ranks. It takes into its midst the most forward-looking and active men and women, regulates admission of new members in conformity with the tasks it has to solve at this or that stage. In the years of industrialization and collectivization, the Party admitted to membership chiefly workers and peasants. During the war preference was given to the men at the battle-fronts. I need hardly stress that today, when our goal is a steep rise in the output of material values, it is only reasonable to lay emphasis on priority acceptance of the men and women who directly produce these material values—the workers and collective farmers. (*Applause.*)

What is the position with regard to admission to the Party? In the past two years the proportion of workers and collective farmers among new members has increased as compared with earlier years.

Yet in many Party organizations the proportion of workers and collective farmers among newly-admitted members is very small. What is more, we often find that the proportion varies considerably in Party organizations working under nearly the same conditions. The amount of industry in the Sverdlovsk and Novosibirsk regions is almost the same. However, in the Sverdlovsk organization, the percentage of workers among new members last year was 47.2 per cent, and in Novosibirsk 32.2. In Omsk Region, collective farmers made up 31.7 per cent of the

new members, in Stalingrad Region the figure is only 11.4 per cent. What is the reason for the lower proportion of workers in Novosibirsk Region than in Sverdlovsk Region, and for the lower proportion of collective farmers in Stalingrad Region compared with Omsk Region? The only reason is that the Novosibirsk and Stalingrad regional Party organizations did not devote sufficient attention to this matter. Unfortunately, this applies also to a number of other Party organizations.

It should be borne in mind that the success of any undertaking depends to a large extent upon the composition of the Party organization. Party organizations must be more exacting in regulating admission of new members, and must tangibly increase the proportion of workers and collective farmers.

There is no need, of course, to emphasize the importance of our work of organization, or to stress that it is the prime factor in all our activities, and in the accomplishment of the imposing economic tasks envisaged by the Sixth Five-Year Plan. That is why the need for improving the quality of leadership, notably at district level, is now so imperative.

In his report, Comrade Khrushchov revealed the serious shortcomings in the functioning of local Party bodies: inclination towards grandiloquent declarations, armchair leadership, management without a proper study of economic problems, inability to organize the masses to eliminate shortcomings, overcome difficulties and apply in industry and agriculture the experience of front-rank workers and innovators, and the achievements of science.

Regional, territorial, city and district committees have somewhat improved their work following the Central Committee's demand that an end be put to bureaucratic methods of leadership. There are less meetings and conferences. Party workers make more frequent visits to factories, collective and state farms, machine and tractor stations, and are doing more to help them organize their work properly. But all too little has been accomplished so far. Unfortunately, there are still a great many Party bodies which devote most of their time and energies, not to the work of organizing the masses, but to endless

conferences and to the composition of reams of records, circulars, etc. It is easy to tell whether this kind of work does any good. For all these endless meetings and voluminous records bring no practical results. The Secretary of the Mekhovsk District Party Committee (Vitebsk Region, Byelorussia), Comrade Ignatenko, said at the last regional Party conference: "For ten years now our district and some other districts have been criticized at every meeting and conference for lagging behind. In these ten years there have been 19 District Committee Secretaries and 6 Chairmen of the District Soviet Executive Committee. Nine commissions came to investigate and make on-the-spot studies, but for all that the district continues to lag behind. To all practical purposes, neither the Regional Party Committee nor the Regional Soviet have done anything concrete to help the district."

This penchant for activity on paper is spreading to primary Party units as well. And often enough it is encouraged district Party committees, which demand "full-length" minutes of meetings and conferences, all manner of data, memorandums, and so on. As a result some unit secretaries devote most of their time, not to the work of organization, but to the penning of all these records and minutes.

Here is a case in point—Comrade Rustamov, secretary of the Party organization at the Kirov Collective Farm, Shamkhor District, Azerbaijan. His desk and bookcase are piled high with folders and ledgers. He keeps a record of work in Party groups among women, and among new Party members, of how the Party body helps the Y.C.L. organization, lists of complaints submitted by collective farmers, of assignments to Party members, of Party education, of attendance of amateur art circles. He has dossiers labelled: "Wall newspapers," "Flash Bulletins," "Emulation Drive in Stock Farming," "Emulation Drive in Field Work," "Forest Friends Society." The work of Party lecturers is registered in three separate ledgers: "Tabulation of Work Performed by Lecturers," "Mass Political Work," "Daily Assignments for Lecturers." Just imagine how much time is spent on this pen-pushing which, of course, keeps the secretary away from the actual

work of organization. And yet, on the collective farm, no educational work is conducted with milkmaids and cowherds. There is no mechanization, no daily work schedule, or feed ration for the animals. Productivity is extremely low: the per cow milk yield for the year was only 484 litres. And, of course, the secretary's dossiers yielded no milk at all—in this respect they proved hopelessly sterile. (*Laughter, applause.*)

The work of the Party apparatus must be perfected, and every vestige of bureaucracy rooted out. Party organizations must concentrate on work among the masses. They must turn their attention—and very resolutely—to giving competent, concrete leadership, to effectively organizing the propaganda and application of front-rank experience and the achievements of science in the work of every factory, collective and state farm and machine and tractor station.

The Party apparatus must be reduced: it should consist of a small number of competent workers. The Central Committee has reduced its apparatus by 25 per cent. We have, I think, thereby made but a beginning for further reductions. There should be a reduction of the apparatus of the Central Party Committees in the Union Republics, and of regional, territorial, city and district Party committees. That would only benefit their work.

In this connection, I would like to say a few words about political departments in civilian organizations. There was a time when they played a certain positive part, but at present they are of little value and tend to duplicate the work of territorial Party bodies. Comrade Khrushchov rightly pointed to the technical backwardness on the railways. It stands to reason that the officials of the railway political departments must share responsibility for this state of affairs. It was their duty to call attention to the technical backwardness of the railways. But did they voice their opinion, did they so much as whisper about the need for technical progress on the railways? No. Evidently the time is ripe for abolishing these political departments. (*Applause.*)

PUT AN END TO THE HARMFUL DIVORCING OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK FROM LIFE

Comrades, in the report of the Central Committee Comrade Khrushchov gave a comprehensive description of the ideological work of Party organizations. He showed that the main failing now is that this work is largely divorced from life, that the people who carry it on are unable to generalize and popularize among the masses advanced methods of communist construction which have stood the test of life, and also that they are not vigorous enough in combating negative phenomena that hamper our progress. That was correct and just criticism.

The Party considers ideological work an integral part of all its activities in building communism. Its main purpose is to render practical help in the building of communism, raising productivity of labour, enhancing the socialist consciousness of the masses in every way, relentlessly fighting against the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people, against bourgeois ideology and morals, arming the working people and first of all the leading cadres with Marxist-Leninist theory, and creatively developing this theory.

Yet our ideological work is insufficiently concentrated on accomplishing all these big tasks and it is conducted in large measure to no purpose, being reduced to conning the same well-known formulas and propositions and not infrequently bringing up doctrinaires and dogmatists who are divorced from life.

Our propaganda was in large measure directed towards past history to the detriment of present-day problems. Moreover, the history of our Party was taught so that the experience of history did not help understand current problems properly. The situation is bad as regards the propaganda of economic knowledge and the experience of front-ranking workers, engineers, collective farmers, the best industrial establishments, collective farms, state farms and brigades.

And so, for many years on end, millions of Communists studied in the Party educational system the erroneous views of the Narodniks, Economists, Bundists, but did

not learn how to combat the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people in our country and how to expose our present-day ideological enemies in the international arena; they did not study the economic processes in this country, the experience of innovators, of the best industrial establishments and collective farms, and the achievements of science in order to manage economic affairs with greater efficiency, to raise labour productivity, increase the production of material values and cope more successfully with other tasks of communist construction.

Many rank-and-file Communists, too, realize the abnormality of this situation. Comrade Ignatov, combine operator of the Mikhailovskaya MTS, Stalingrad Region, put it very well: "For the 13th year now I have been attending a Party history circle. For the 13th time the propagandists are telling us all about the Bund. But have we no business more important than criticizing the Bund? (*Laughter.*) We are interested in the affairs of our MTS, district, region. We want to concern ourselves with the present and the future, but our propagandists are so bogged down in Narodnik and Bund affairs that they simply cannot get out of it." (*Laughter, applause.*)

Party propaganda has thus begun to lose its militant Bolshevik spirit.

Most of our propagandists are poorly versed in the economics of socialist production. They are guided and trained very often by people who likewise do not know production or have a very general idea about it. What is the way out? The way out is to resolutely draw our economic, Party and governmental leading workers into the work of propaganda, especially of economic knowledge.

Greater demands must be presented to propagandists. We should not go after numbers, but select people who are really able to dovetail our propaganda with the practical tasks of economic and cultural development.

At the same time it is necessary to work constantly with the propagandists as well, bearing in mind that the best of them can "run dry" if Party bodies do not give them guidance, do not direct their attention to urgent

tasks and do not help them with advice and provide them with concrete data and facts. We must reorganize the system of training and advanced training of propagandists so as to equip them with the necessary knowledge in the spheres of industry and agriculture.

Unfortunately, it is not only our propaganda that is divorced from life and lags behind it; this is largely the case on the theoretical front as well.

Take, for instance, the economic sciences. At the present stage, the study of the deep-going processes of our society's economic development should be the chief, decisive trend in the study and development of Marxist thought. This does not imply that less attention should be given to the study of the past revolutionary experience of the Party or to Marxist-Leninist philosophy. But Soviet society has entered a stage at which attention should be given above all to the study and elaboration of economic science, since it is primarily knowledge of the objective laws of development of the socialist economy that enables us to use these laws in accelerating the building of communism.

The publication of the textbook of political economy is a favourable development in this sphere. But a textbook alone is not enough, and as for serious scientific works containing a creative study of economic processes there are, unfortunately, very few of them as yet.

Some economists made serious mistakes in their works. The Party had to correct a number of would-be economists who were spreading anti-Marxist views on the need to slow down the pace of development of heavy industry. The denial by economists of the category of moral depreciation of machinery under socialism did serious damage since it provided theoretical justification for stagnation and conservatism in technology.

Economists inadequately study the operation of the law of value in socialist production. That our architects, carried away by extravagance, did not consider what that would cost the people and that MTS and collective-farm personnel still very often do not consider the cost of a ton of grain or meat, is undoubtedly in some measure

due to the fact that our economists have not elaborated the problem how the law of value operates concretely in our economy.

The scientific study and elaboration of problems of economics in specific branches of the national economy has been neglected. The U.S.S.R. has over 40 research institutions whose task is to study the economics of agricultural production. They have done, however, very little to summarize the wealth of experience accumulated by the collective and state farms. Publication of a textbook on agricultural economics as well as of a textbook on industrial economics has dragged out much too long.

In the sphere of philosophy, too, theoretical thought is divorced from the urgent tasks of our life, of communist construction.

Dogmatism and doctrinairism have become widespread primarily because part of the economists and philosophers held aloof from practical life. The essence of the evil disease called doctrinairism is not simply that those affected by it cite quotations all the time, whether they fit in or not; it is that they hold the supreme criterion of their correctness to be, not practical experience, but the pronouncements of authorities on one or another question. They lose the taste for studying the realities of life. Everything is replaced by the culling of quotations and their artful manipulation. The slightest deviation from a quotation is regarded as a revision of fundamental principles. This activity of the doctrinaires is not merely futile, it is harmful. (*Applause.*)

There is no doubt that the cult of the individual greatly promoted the spread of dogmatism and doctrinairism. Hero-worshippers ascribed the development of the Marxist theory only to certain personalities and fully relied on them. All the other mortals were supposed to assimilate and popularize what was created by those personalities. In this manner the role of the collective thought of our Party and that of fraternal parties in developing revolutionary theory, the role of the collective experience of the masses was ignored.

The Party has never tolerated dogmatism, but the

struggle against it has acquired especial acuteness now. The present time makes the task of creatively developing Marxism more pressing than ever. Each day of building communism in our country and building socialism in the People's Democracies brings to the fore new problems, which must be dealt with by theory. Drastic changes are taking place the world over, and many problems appear now in a new light. To keep pace with life it is imperative to elaborate new problems scientifically, further to enrich and develop Marxism. Lenin, pointing to the creative nature of Marxism, stressed that "we do not regard Marx's theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary we are convinced that it has only laid the cornerstone of the science which Socialists *must* further advance in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life." (*Works*, Vol. 4, p. 191.)

It is this task that now confronts us, in particular our economists and philosophers. The Party expects them to create fundamental scientific works based on a summary of the vast experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies and a deep analysis of the processes taking place in present-day capitalism, works which could be of theoretical help to governmental, economic and Party cadres. Of course, when Marxists speak of advancing revolutionary theory by summarizing the new practical experience and the achievements of science, they always mean the further development and enrichment of Marxism-Leninism on the basis of its bedrock principles, in uncompromising struggle against all attempts to revise these principles.

The shortcomings in our ideological work are quite serious, and the Party cannot tolerate them.

It is the duty of all Party organizations, from top to bottom, to eliminate these shortcomings, to assure a sharp turn in our ideological work towards life, practical activities, concrete questions of communist construction; propaganda and agitation should be closely linked in the first place with the tasks confronting each industrial establishment or collective farm in increasing the production of material values.

We must constantly work to enhance the socialist consciousness of the working people, to answer the urgent and pointed questions they raise; we must not relax the struggle against the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people, we must resolutely expose the reactionary ideology of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Aiming further to ease international tension and strengthen peace, we must not curtail our criticism of bourgeois ideology, imperialism and colonialism; on the contrary, to achieve these aims we must intensify our criticism, expose with convincing examples and facts the aggressive ideology and policy of imperialism, lay bare the exploiting essence of the capitalist system, contrasting this doomed system with the socialist system, revealing its immense advantages and lofty and noble principles and aims.

We must once again invest our ideological work with the Bolshevik militancy and purposefulness developed by the Party throughout decades and subordinate it to the struggle for the triumph of communism.

The Party will continue to show tireless concern for propaganda and the creative development, on the basis of new experience, of Marxist-Leninist theory, which is the scientific foundation of all our policies and all our activities, the indispensable guide for the building of communism.

* * *

Comrades, it is difficult to overestimate the historic significance of this Congress. The Congress is opening up before our Party, our country, and the Soviet people sweeping, breath-taking prospects in building communism which evoke joyous pride. The tasks we face are magnificent and we have inexhaustible potentialities for their successful accomplishment. A wonderful life is unfolding before the Soviet people. In the near future our socialist Motherland will become still greater and mightier politically, economically and culturally. And next to it other fraternal socialist countries, the entire great socialist commonwealth will grow, gain in strength and prosper. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Our Party faces these splendid prospects monolithically united, militant and filled with great creative energies. It enjoys the undivided love and support of the whole Soviet people and is equipped with the wise and invincible teaching of Marxism-Leninism.

There can be no doubt that after its Twentieth Congress the Party will achieve still greater victories in its work for the further progress of our Motherland, for peace among nations, for the triumph of communism in our country. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

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М. А. СУСЛОВ

РЕЧЬ НА XX СЪЕЗДЕ КПСС